[illegible] dollars. That's his bills. He's got maybe five bill. Buck put up one hundred dollars. St. Peter put up one hundred dollars. Old Knee put up one hundred fifty dollars. Mr. Smith put up ten dollars. They say from Lower Post three thousand dollars going." The apparent success of Old Chief (which we have indicated) is significant, since it points out the lack of ingroup solidarity and the self-centeredness of the individual. Old Chief received his designation from white men and should not be regarded as an executive whose legitimacy was derived from the native society.

Today only unorganized and different forms of social ideologies are encountered. All of these emphasize better governmental care of the Indian and contain mainly of plans and complaints which never achieve a stage where they are implemented by action. Anyone was shown toward a Canadian Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) organizer who came to Lower Post to visit. Old Mien, who heard of the man indirectly from John Knee, spoke approvingly of the "new government" and thought it would "do something" for the Indian.

Interpersonal antagonism characterizes most of the relations of men in the area and is even the most prominent feature of interpersonal relations within a tribal domain. Despite the ideal attitude commending a person to mind his own business, the common expression of this latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. Such expression, however, is confined to good friends and older men who are too old to carry the relationship back to the subjects. Young men and most women show a strong and consistent reluctance to gossip or criticize, and it is only in an unguarded moment or during reminiscence that their feelings are personal escape. The careful control on the expression of hostility is related to the Kaska Indian's great fear of giving offense to people and thereby damaging his own reputation. Old Mien illustrated this worldliness abundantly. He felt that Old Lady Mirtle had to be given a good funeral for fear of otherwise offending her daughter, Lady Sam. Following the death of her mother the latter was received in Old Mien's house as a temporary accommodation, but the old man soon regretted his action as he began to perceive that Lady Sam and her youngest son, Donald, were depleting his stock of grub. He was extremely reluctant however, to take any action that would give offense. Instead he complained to the educated explorer of his guests' eating habits and criticized young Donald's laziness. A large part of his resentment was expressed in the socially permitted form of worsening the latter youth for his indifferent work habits.

The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking. Old Knee and Old Mien had spent a sociable evening drinking here together and complimenting each other. Two days later Old Knee criticized Old Mien heavily. He accused the latter of illegally trapping on both sides of the Liard River, affirming that the other man had no right to cross the stream. Then he alluded to Old Mien's long association with white men and implied that Old Mien was beginning to think of himself as a white man. He ended up by branding his friend as "full of bullshit," that is, a liar. A few days later Old Knee aired his resentment of River Jim, whom he accused of trying to be the boss of the whole country. He forcibly discussed to put River Jim in jail.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the relationship of Old Mien and River Jim. Together the two always appeared to be good friends, but behind the other's back Old Mien was zealously

[illegible] 571
[illegible] 572
[illegible] 578
[illegible] 127

[illegible] Lewis Silas, who joined in the gave accommodations which Old Silas could offer the ethnographer and gained popularity in his home quarters. Local attitudes were colored by his partner, Peter Tom. Disagreeable attitudes were expressed by Old Silas regarding Lewis Silas. He said that out of resentment Lewis was not allowing his partner, Peter, to live in the former's new house but was forcing the youth to sleep in an old one house. This appears to have been a total misconception of facts, as – Peter had previously boasted that the new house would become his own when Lewis moved into his new house.

We also heard Peter Tom criticize Rivers Joe for marrying against people who are his grub. This antagonism may be explained by the fact that after having lived with one of Joe's daughters for a year, Peter found his plans to wed the girl legally frustrated by the elder man's sudden change of mind. Peter also asserted that Mary Donnelly did not want his wife well, leaving her to fend out on wood. There is reason to believe that even a neighbor's economic hardship is often experienced as gratifying. An indication of this comes from the circumstance with which newsboys' news of poor luck in hunting and trapping is received in the winter settlements.

All of these illustrations come from one tribal district and show the character of the attitudes existing between close neighbors. Even within a single settlement there may be antagonism, especially if members of two unrelated or ethnically colored families live in proximity. Thus Harry Long accused his brother-in-law's, Pierre, mother of having "talked" about him and thereby influenced Pierre to build his own new house and come during Harry's house.

One function of interpersonal hostility is to reduce any feeling of ingroup solidarity and thus to endlessly the economic social structure. Between people of different tribal distinctions even stronger antagonisms prevail. Such people are often referred to as strangers or as "different people." Thus one afternoon Lewis Silas expressed his suspicion that the people across the river were drinking a brew. He added, "We can we go over there. These different people. They never trust." Asked for his opinion about the Cross brothers, who were Nelson Indians, Old Silas replied that he didn't know the Cross "bunch" but said that, according to Mary Wiley, who had lived with them as an adopted relative, they were "pretty hard to get along with and always talk about other people." He also expressed Rivers Joe's decision that the Nelson people were "no good." When Richard Day was asked his opinion of Edward Cross, he stated that the latter is disliked by many people. All he

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[illegible] would ask for one of explanation was: "Oh, fine." Louis Richard called him to smash an [illegible] with Edward for fear of upsetting his friendship with up-scene. Even older [illegible] children show characteristic behavior toward companions from other classes. When Donald first appeared in Lorna Park, other fourteen-year-olds in Western Lodge a number of youths approached and inspected him, calling him "Scrunge." Thus their discomfort is not him. Donald received admiration. He knew so well that he was had fully accepted the system. In these contexts and behaviors toward members of one aggressive and normally intelligent Kinds when we see the beginnings of the characteristics which will be displayed in consciousness with managing relations. In a few months the two [illegible] among the Kinds is probably the weakest bonds.

[illegible] Free from expression of hostility in juvenile and teenage violence is rare. When people are when there is consistency between child and behavior in fit or the control of aggression is concerned. Even the possibility of seeing quarreling is forestalled by the fact that most people are quick to flee from any such threatening situation. Although one is very dominant and exercises then appear more really in free disharmony, in general the pattern for both sexes is apparently to suppress and ignore all open expression of hostility.

Interaction sometimes alters this picture. In this situation, a number of men show readiness to accept old grudges and an inclination without fear of provoking violence. In English, the drunken quarrelers had usually spoken with obscenity or one another in an attempt to provoke an initial act of violence. Before the mounting hostility was such this level, women with their young children have generally succeeded in a with distance. Often the provocations to violence remain unacknowledged by other people, and the general pattern not in a fair disguised exchange of insults. Sometimes, however, the challenge is taken up and blows begin to be exchanged. While then are used to fists, this form of fighting seem visible to something, the aim being to throw the opponent and then shake him into surrender. Weapons of any kind were never observed to be employed in quarrels. Sometimes a woman will try to separate two men who are fighting, but generally women are too afraid to venture close. Old ladies were rather surrounding young men for his consistent tendency to forestall aggression or have drinks, he also looks up many fights. Arrangements following such quarrels is rarely prolonged, although the movements may continue covertly and motivate additional aggression during a subsequent drinking party. Sometimes in predecessors a bullying type of behavior appears. Louis Miles were mentioned such behavior when he asked Nidle, a very problem youth, to remove him. Nidle immediately declined. Louis then rudely took away a dipper of coffee which Nidle was drinking, but again the latter displayed no aversion. Turning his attention elsewhere, Louis picked up a nearly empty tea pot and emptied the grinds on Edward Prince, as the were time working to the ethnographer. Edward ignored the slight and remarked, "Mind he running." Only on hour or so previously, when both had been much drunken, Edward and Louis had quarreled latently, but now Edward was showing up and refused the implicit challenge evident in Louis' behavior.

Family life is not characterized by quarreling. Ideally a man feels entitled to have his wife if he suspects that she has been untrue to him, but not all men avail themselves of this permitted behavior. Several husbands (including Hans Donnelly, Edward Prince, and Louis Miles) are noted for aggression toward wives when intoxicated. One such quarrel was ob-

[illegible] Tahltan because she was herself partially [illegible] 2.78
[illegible] Tahltan husband began to beat her. Several times she 2.75
[illegible] Tahltan woman ran away. When Louis sought to be the last, knocked her to the ground, and
began to punish her with his fists. With one other the ethnographer and Old [illegible] was
involved in separating the couple. Wife still had her ground, and only with difficulty could
she be urged to run away.

Yet quite expressions of hostility to overt confrontation. Since alcohol is underscored as a 6
cause with aggressive behavior, there is a feeling that individuals prone to violence are 2.78
on good drinkers. By no more drinks, this has done not lead to the violent exclusion of
such men from drinking occasions. There is aggressive pattern remains so arbitrary, he
strength regards the behavior.

[illegible] Relations

Relations between Kaska speaking Indians and Kaska people are generally [illegible] 6.98
The greatest amount of such interaction is carried on with Tahltan, Bear Lake, and Tatla no
neighbors, also with the whites. Many of the Kaska have heard of the Fully River Indians
in the north, but interaction [illegible] these two groups is rare.

Socially prominent attitudes toward Indian groups who reside outside of the Kaska area 6.8
are characterized by an ethnocentrism which is expressed mainly in unfavorable opinions 6.1
and a mild strength directed against the Tahltan. Least does it influence relations with the
nearby Indian tribes, into which considerable marriage has occurred. While Kaska judge-
ments of their neighbors tend to unite the ingroup, any direct expression of ingroup unity
is rarely heard.

It is commonly felt that the Tahltan Indians are too aggressive, while the latter people
in turn look down on the Kaska as uncouth "bush Indians." The Tahltan, as Old-Man
pointed out, in their attitude toward the Kaska are influenced by the memory of their
ancestors fighting those more northern Indians. Mildred Long expressed a typical attitude
toward the Telegraph Creek people when she said: "Too many Tahltans here. They're too
rough. Fight too much." She also resented two local dwelling Tahltan families as being too
"high toned," i.e., they tend to maintain a social exclusiveness which sometimes led to
directly snubbing certain Kaska Indians, including herself. River Joe indicated that marriage
between Tahltan and Kaska people is to be discouraged. The few marriages of this type,
however, seem to be well established. On another occasion, when River Joe was intoxicated,
he is reported to have become openly abusive of the Tahltan, claiming that they had no
right to live in Kaska country. To the ethnographer he said that the Telegraph Creek
Indians always get into fights when they have been drinking. The tenacity of Kaska atti-
tudes toward these neighbors may be gauged from the fact that in 1941 a local restaurant
has considerable trade when the management was given to a Tahltan family. Although no
organized boycott occurred, i.e., Kaska kept their promise not to spend money in that
place. One evidence than commences when Morice saw around 1900, when he wrote:
"Even to this day the Kaska resent the Tahltan's assumed or real superiority, and will not
be confounded with them as co-members of the same tribe."[9]

[9] Morice, The Nah-ane and their Language (1901-02), 300.

the older men, more with little response. After everybody has had a helping there may 272
be a brief pause before the men round is begun. Beverage increases in frequency and the
points diverge in the degree of consumption progresses. In the space between rounds, both
sexes make many signposts and indulge in conversation, the nature of which quickly becomes
unmentioned. Men generally remember women as drinking partners, although in the
extreme settlement the whole family drinks, even the one-year-old children being presented beer
and wine. In general the Indian quickly shows the effects of alcohol.

Nobody is ever severely criticized for being drunk nor are there severe guilt feelings on
the following day, unless under circumstances behavior occurred which the individual has
come to regret. Drunken behavior includes recklessness, quarreling, physical aggression,
singing, riding, depression, and expressions of heightened sexuality. Sometimes a form of
behavior occurs in which violent aggression is coupled with complete breakdown of
motional control. We will return to this behavior later, and here discuss the more common
manifestations of intoxication.

Recklessness during intoxication is illustrated by the incident of a number of boys,
ranging from seventeen to twenty-one, stealing a white man's car. They blew a tire, burnt
out the battery, and finally ran the vehicle into a ditch where it was abandoned. People
recognize that in the extreme cold of winter, recklessness may be fatal to an intoxicated
person. The older men, however, generally remains aware of this danger. Thus one Christ-
mas Old Man saw the necessity for keeping sober while everybody was drinking. It was
very cold and he feared that if everyone became intoxicated the fire would go out and the
people, particularly the children, freeze while they slept without blankets. He also warned
Louis Johnson, upon the latter's arrival, not to get drunk before tying the dogs and putting
down brush for the animals' comfort.

Quarreling frequently occurs in the course of drinking parties but only one instance of 273
murder under such conditions could be recalled for a period of about fifty years. Hostility 274
rising to the surface during intoxication is quickly forgotten once the individual recovers. 275
Sometimes there is a tendency to play down and forget all the unpleasant elements that
occurred in the course of drinking and refer solely to the "fun" that was had.

While the Kaska tend to avoid sexual allusions in conversation when sober, especially 273
in the presence of women, in drunkenness such references are readily forthcoming and the
strongest obscenities or the most suggestive jokes freely uttered. Drinking is also accom-
panied by weakening control of direct sexual behavior and young men are often eager to
educating coitus verbally. The sexually stimulating effect of alcohol is recognized by the [38]
Indians; although men condone this effect in themselves, they believe it wrong for girls and
women to drink. Intoxicated women get "too crazy," they say.

Drinkers are reluctant to end their intoxication until when one bunch of beer or wine
has been exhausted eagerly inquire into the whereabouts of another. Usually this search
fails and men end up producing money for buying whiskey or extracts and hair tonics. Only
rarely does a woman like Mrs. Man put aside a few bottles of the beverage for use in
recuperating from the effects of hangover. Mrs. Man's tendency is known, however, and
men, after finishing a bunch of brew quickly beg her permission to tap the hidden cache.

Potlatch. Apart from Christmas parties tendered to children by the missionaries, the 276

[illegible] [illegible] the individual realizes his own weakness to authoritarianism and projects a similar feeling into others. He knows that domination must be avoided, because it is likely to produce rebellion or hostility.

The most direct expression of deference is found in the avoidance of face to face generally. When a situation becomes too intense and anger has been provoked, women, particularly, often escape the consequences of such provocation by running away. Sometimes, as further illustrated in connection with homes, a pike is conceived to strike or relieve a situation of emotional stress. All escape from potential hostility is regarded as intelligent behavior. Actually, constantly little quarreling or violence characterizes Kaska Athapaskan relations. The avoidance of violence is well illustrated in the case of Nitla, Ashik, and John Goon, to which several references have already been made. In this marital triangle, Nitla felt considerable hostility toward his brother, but took no direct action against him. Many instances are known in which a husband's violence could safely be predicted for an affair of this kind.*

To avoid aggression, people also avoid any direct criticism outside of the immediate family, instead expressing disapproval to gossip. Obviously the need of controlling direct criticism and the substitution of malicious gossip makes for hypocrisy, which is personally dangerous, since it may also lead to ill feeling and recriminations. For this reason gossip is carefully concealed. Most people when asked are extremely reluctant to gossip, the most consistent manifestation of such behavior coming from older men. Fear of causing offense and trouble is one reason why Indians will rarely report community defects to the police. Old Tom said that even if he found a dead body in the bush, he would never report it to law enforcement authorities. The absence of malicious and malicious humor is a further instance of cultural organization towards the goal of deference. Only rarely does humor function toward social control, and then not with the aim of singling out an individual for criticism but rather a group—such as youth. Here, apparently, safety is perceived in numbers and generality.

The enforcement patterns which we have just described are all directed toward the end of forestalling overt hostility and violence. In addition, we have attitudes denying aggression. For example, there is no admiration for might and power. The grizzly bear is clearly powerful, but he is the most feared animal in the Cosmos and a common feature of socially patterned anxiety dreams. Because of his very strength, which leads him to court danger by attacking people, the grizzly bear lacks intelligence. Indians fear him exactly as they fear any hostile person who can cause trouble and injury. Aggressive people are regarded as somewhat "crazy" and there is ideally a strong belief that such troublemakers are better locked up or removed from the society. Above all, hostilely disposed people must not be offended, still they are admired by no one.

Opinions about the second World War, which terminated during the period of field work, offer another insight into the expression of deference in idea. Nitla resented any ex-

* See, for comparison, Hertz, *Marie Ichacho and Suicide* (1945), particularly pp. 116-117. The entire book presents descriptions of behavior in striking contrast to that which we are here describing for the Kaska. Obviously, it would be extremely valuable to have something about the basic motivations to which the Hertz Marie's violence is related.

[illegible]

If we now approach male and female social roles from the standpoint of emotional roles we find that in men considerable ambivalence is attached to the emotional comfort derived from association with women. In marriage culture, there is increasing dependence of a man on his wife. These passive needs are productive of male anxiety, first, because they are contrary to the self-assertive motives and, second, because of their conflict with emotional inhibition. Turning now to women, we can expect that since women are also trained for assertive forms of mastery, passive mechanisms of adjustment may also be productive of anxiety, this is borne out in the fact that some women seek to avoid this socially expected pattern of adjustment by manifesting masculine striving. On the other hand, the fact that there are social expectations of feminine passivity, and that from the age of six or seven girls are trained for a serving role, make it easier for a woman to relax, her conflict here is exclusively "personal" whereas in the man it is both a personal conflict between assertion and a struggle between individual and social demands. Moreover, the Freda woman to some extent shares with her husband the predisposition to anxiety over emotional inhibition in regard to the threatening emotional innovation of marriage.

The following summary may help to clarify the nature of the foregoing discussion.

Sex	Tendency	Consequence
Men	Emphasize unalloyed self-assertion.	Between socially expected self-assertion and passivity.
		Between self-assertion and dependence on the wife.
		Between emotional inhibition and dependence on the wife.
Women	Self-assertion effected by some preparation for a serving (passive) role.	Between socially expected passivity and self-assertion.
		Between self-assertion and dependence on the husband.
		Between emotional inhibition and dependence on the husband.

All of these conflicts lead to anxiety and internal hostility, which further threaten the self-esteem as well as fulfillment motivations. These conflicts find expression in the sadomasochistic characterizing the emotional relations of men and women in Dobu society. Women [illegible] of this motivation will now be resolved as a conflicts itself to seek feelings of superiority, men's and women's attitudes toward marriage, in folklore, and in men's interpretation of sex for aggression. Because of these weak with men, it is inevitable that the Dobuan women should generally reflect such ambivalence to women. On the other hand, it is also possible that a woman's frustrations, because of her greater opportunity to relate from self-exertion, her early training in passivity, and her over-zealous identification with her father in childhood, are less strong than a man's.

Mild feelings of superiority in women are expressed when men generalize from their important economic roles on the one hand to a system of generally superior status. They are also revealed in Old Mina's delusions claim that men can, if necessary, do many feminine tasks, like caring for children, making baskets, having menstruation, and carrying menstrual. On another occasion, however, Old Mina reported that such tasks were only superficially performed by men and that necessity considered a hardship. Even so, too, often women claimed about a man's difficulties when he lacked a woman to cook and care for the camp. We therefore conclude that Old Mina's assessment of male self-sufficiency has little basis in manifest behavior and is an expression of male superiority. It expresses an attempt to deny the anxiety provoked by dependence on his wife.

Both sexes reveal conscious reluctance to marriage. In men, holding back is defended on grounds of sexual freedom, while in women it is rationalized as a fear of being economically frustrated or physically overwhelmed. Avoidance of marriage may be interpreted both as a fear of the strong emotions that the bond develops and of the dependency which it evokes. The period of premarital promiscuity, as we shall see, affords abundant opportunity to satisfy sexuality without too seriously threatening emotional isolation. Furthermore, we in this period often full opportunity to express self-assertion, while marriage, with its burdens of economic responsibilities and child care, threatens to test their motivation in both sexes.

The expression of sexual ambivalence in folklore is illustrated in the story of "The Blind Old Man," selected by Old Mina to unburden the anxiety and hostility engendered by his growing dependency.* The theme of the tale, an old man deserted by his wife who withholds food, strongly suggests the husband-wife relationship to be marked by distrust and ambivalence. That the woman is able to deceive her husband, shows her to be perceived in a position of superiority and power, which throws light on the man's intense and conflictful emotional dependence. A second tale reveals a similar theme.

THE GIRL WHO TURNED INTO AN OWL

Two brothers shared a wife and lived with their mother-in-law. One day the girl climbed a tree to reach an owl's nest and was turned into an owl. Her clothes drifted down to her mother, who dressed them and returned to camp pretending to be the young wife. She placed a roll of blankets in her camp to simulate an old woman asleep. When the boys came home the women fed them, but as she had no teeth she could only eat taro. To give the sound of chewing, she put a

* See the discussion of Old Mina's personality below, pp. [illegible].

This sex, both by the blood represents the women which [illegible] present to men, the masculine morning of women, and men's fear of women's sexual [illegible]. The men's un-[illegible] sexual powers, suggested by the homosexual dancers, [illegible] dedicated to the women's weapons which kill the younger brother.* In the younger brother we see passivity as strong that it leads to a masochistic response in which the man allows himself to be killed and, through castration, becomes incorporated by women. Thus the theme of the myth is once more expressive of male female ambivalence.

Other connections also inferred from behavior and verbalizations, further expresses the powers of unconscious hostility. The mother, as already pointed out, encapsulates the rela-[illegible] between sexuality and hunting. Coitus and the self-castration motives are uncon-[illegible] related, sexual intercourse being equivalent to the ritual killing of game. Such as this also covers the importance of ambivalent attitudes between men and women. Unconsciously sexual relations are interpreted as conflicts in which men are superior, but fearfully sensed that men are as conscious of their sexual powers as they often are about their economic capacities.

From these data we infer that the man's aggressive and ambivalent unconscious motives for unconscious gratification through alters of masculine superiority over women. The failure of these motives is unconsciously interpreted as making a man like a woman. That this idea should be further expressed in symbols equating the gun and penis is not surprising. The male sex organ and potency in general are perceived as weapons of mastery; this is indicated by the lessons of boys claiming to have "more sex" girls, and is also reflected in the young man's concern with his potency and the size of the penis. Schäfer has pointed out that "the male sex organ is a protrusion and can therefore be symbolized by protrusions of an-other type. Every protrusion may thus become a symbol or a sign for activity as well as for masculinity."* Any appearance of the gun, arrow, or stick gun, the products of uncon-scious association, therefore, becomes significant. The importance of target practice with rifles is also partly determined from these ideas, and arises from the fact that it ensures self-assertive mastery not only actually (by improving skill) but unconsciously by relieving genital anxieties. Not only are weapons objects of protrusion, but by the Indian's own ad-mission they are also symbols of male superiority and self-assertion, and equivalent to the penis as a weapon of conquest. These symbols emphasize the hostility which men uncon-sciously experience toward women and also themselves when the woman hopes to achieve by masculine surviving. By denying her capacity to have children and follow masculine alter-native roles, she is embracing assertions through male circumcision and denying the passivity associated with her body sponsings.* Note that women are not less eager to target practice than boys, only doing so in greater anxiety.

* Harry Long, which [illegible], was revealed his passivity by fantasying a woman [illegible] with a revolver. Other examples of Harry Long's behavior demonstrate his latent homosexuality, suggesting that unconsciously men are closely strength with the passive female role and treat women with masculine self-assertion, a penis. The shape of unconscious association of course permits such divergent ideas as sexual self-assertion and sexual passivity to exist side by side. See the discussion of Harry Long's personality below, p. 328.

* Schäfer, Cards and Dances of Man (1948), 179; also Fenton, Sex and Character (1951), 24.

* Schäfer, Cards and Dances of Man (1948), 179.

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572 Charlie. I had lots of friends then, but still I didn't like the name I couldn't understand them. One word I understand: "Hurry up!" That's all. Later they brought Rose Joe's daughter, Jenny, to school and she came summer I started back home.

159 When I got back to Lower Post I was sorry to see Father Allard leave me. That summer I went to a lot spring and took sick in my stomach. Rose took me back to Lower Post to stay with my mother, only Rose was married to my aunt, Mildred, this time. For a while I lived with anybody, trying to make my living. I didn't care much about trapping. Whenever I made a little money, I spent it right away. Every summer, when he came to Lower Post, Father Allard would see me. He was going to take me out again, but he drowned the very summer that I was supposed to go. We lived across the Liard River for a while and I trapped there until Rose kicked me out. Then I trapped with Edward Prince. After that I went with Gerry Jones for a while, but he got married and that left me alone again. In 1958 I got married too and went up the river. In 1959 I went down to Nine Mile but I came back again to 1940 and I've been here ever since.

Sometimes in the winter I cook for them all. I make pie and fancy cake. I like to do that. I used to be lucky for money. Every time I went out I got my game. Now I'm not so lucky anymore. I don't worry for myself when the grub runs out but it bothers the children. I can't let them starve. I don't think I want my boy to go to school. It's too far away. I'll teach Roger myself.

The Personality versus Ethnography

Harry delayed a long time before giving his life story and finally did so only the day before the ethnographer's departure. Throughout our stay in his father-in-law's settlement, Harry made exaggerated gestures of generosity, giving the ethnographer game, fish, skins, and Indian manufactures for most of which he refused payment. He said, frankly, that he wanted the ethnographer to report "good word" about him when we went outside. When intoxicated, he quickly became hostile and abusive but never mistreated his wife. Two years ago he sought to leave Anna and marry Stella Wiley, but the latter refused to have him whereupon he began to abuse her verbally. He is also reported to have made sexual advances to his wife's fifteen year old sister.

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● 578 Harry is extremely proud of his relations with American soldiers and corresponds with several. Beneath his flattery of the ethnographer and of all things American, there often runs a current of hostility. Usually this is directed toward Harry himself. On one occasion, when intoxicated, he spoke of "murdering" himself, asked the ethnographer if he knew about "Murder Incorporated," and rambled on about a woman with a revolver. Harry gains this sophistication from reading picture magazines and comic books. As intoxication increased on that occasion, his aggressiveness toward the ethnographer became more direct but always remained under a cloak of ingratiation. He wanted to "please" us by offering us his brew. Then he said he would murder himself if we refused to drink. Finally he threatened to strike the ethnographer if the brew was rejected. He seized the ethnographer but wavered in carrying out his threat when Old Man started to reproach him and pull him away. In a few minutes the hostility was dropped, and Harry began to apologize profusely for having lost his head. He continued to apologize for several hours and then began to alternate

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] 668

[illegible] 684

[illegible] 659

[illegible] 684

[illegible] 666

[illegible] 668

[illegible] 684

[illegible]

[illegible] 668

[illegible] 684

[illegible]

* Among the Tlingit the killing of an illegitimate baby by stuffing its mouth with moss or grass had magical repercussions. If neglected "very bad luck will follow the family, or clan." Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 45.

The persons that emerge from these reports may be briefly summarized. A serious illness would overtake some member of one of the small semi-nomadic bands. An effort was made to explain the illness in terms of bewitchment and generally some child or youth of either sex was fixed upon as the guilty party. Often the child confessed to the crime which he did not understand. "Did not smart," Sam Bob explained. "You talk to bit, 'You witch?' Maybe say, 'Yes.' That bit big, he wouldn't speak a word." Sometimes the confessed witch was killed or else he might starve to death. If the suspect refused to admit his guilt he was tortured until he confessed. The commonest means of torture seems to have been by tying up the suspected individual, sometimes hanging him up by the heels and starving him. The remarkable thing that comes out of the data is that the captivity and torture were often undertaken by a member of the suspect's family, again either a man or a woman. A mature person often sought to escape the charge of bewitchment by fixing suspicion on a child. During periods when witch-fear was prevalent people were afraid of being accused of the deed and of having guilt placed on their children. Mutual suspicion was rife and people watched their children carefully.

From this synthetic reconstruction it is clear that the Kaoka's belief in witchcraft is best described as witch-fear, since there is no evidence of any Indian ever actually practicing witchcraft nor were the forms of such behavior apparently even ideally patterned in great detail. That witch-fear for the Kaoka may be defined as an attempt to fix blame for malignancy upon one person for some definite injury to another. Certain other features of Kaoka witch-fear may be pointed out. Very often it was not the supposed victim who sought to fix this blame but his relatives and friends. Furthermore all suspicion of witchcraft was localized within the community and often within the family. Blame did not depend upon any previous expression of enmity between victim and witch, for frequently suspicion fell on a child who could not easily have originated or been the subject of such hostility. Finally there was no elaboration of techniques for countering the attack of witchcraft. Shamanism had practically disappeared from the society and oracles were not consulted to determine witches. The sole remedy appeared to lie in securing the confession of the witch and/or bringing about his death. It therefore follows that witchcraft was not a commonplace or "normal" phenomenon in Kaoka society as it is, or was, among the African Azande or California Yokuts and Western Mono.[8]

Although Dan, Jimmy, and Chen Loots are still living in Lower Post, efforts to persuade them to talk about witch-fear or witchcraft were unsuccessful. A number of other informants expressed impatience when questioned about this behavior and pointed out that they knew nothing of witches. They

[8] Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Gayton, 1936, p. 408.

managed. For an emotive and basically conflicts people these problems would perhaps not have been too unmanageable. Kaska communitarians, however, is limited to relatively familiar situations in them which do not require a prodigious expenditure of energy and too severe a disruption of normal routines. In novel critical situations the Indian reveals a tendency to passivity and preoccupation. These behaviors, totally inadequate as defenses in the acculturation situation, simply aggravated adaptive crises when they were applied to hunting, illness, and trapping. The inevitable result was the amount of secondary frustration and anxiety.

It was this anxiety, leading to interpersonal difficulties and hostility (which the Kaska are unable to express directly) which was the condition predisposing the society to a favorable reception of witchcraft. Sickness, always a conflict situation for a people dependent on mobility to survive, was the area in which the introduced patterns became readily transposed. Witchcraft solved the emotional problems of frustration and anxiety by offering a channel for the discharge of their derived hostility.

Although this was the general predisposing condition facilitating the reception of witchcraft, certain structural congruities to witchcraft must not be overlooked.* Without an awareness of the possibility of effecting malevolence sympathetically or contagiously, such as existed in the former belief in sorcery, witchcraft would have had greater difficulty in taking hold. Torture also had a place in the aboriginal way of life, enemy captives taken in intertribal warfare having been even more cruelly treated than were suspected witches. Finally the social structure of the group seems to regarded as having been functionally related to the introduced attitudes by making it possible for suspicion and fear to exist between even proximate relatives and neighbors.

Kaska society has always been marked by extreme atomism with a minimum of social identification extending beyond the family. Even within the family authority was weak but deference highly emphasized. Cooperation was rare and always on an individualistic and voluntary basis. The largest and best definable unit of social structure beyond the family was the mobile band having the nuclear family as the center around which were grouped grandparents, sons-in-law and, occasionally, other relatives. Such bands were sociologically cemented by the emotional bonds of primary kinship relations. Beyond these bonds affinal kinship, personal friendship, congeniality, and common membership in an exogamous moiety* operated to maintain social relations, but such

* We here use "structural" in somewhat the same sense that Kluckhohn has spoken of "structural analysis" as "an investigation of 'functional dependencies' " or "the interrelation of parts" of a culture, but excluding those psychological factors which are commonly referred to "personality." This is functionalism in Radcliffe-Brown's rather than Malinowski's sense of the term. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 43; Radcliffe-Brown, 1946.)

* Dual organization did not extend to the eastern Nahane Indians and probably not to the Tagish-Inne.

7: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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[61] ties were weak and informalized. When a band through marriage secured
571 members of another dialect division (i.e., tribe) the affinal kinship ties were apt
to be riddled by considerable distrust. Even today relations between dialect
●578 groups are apt to be strained although considerable marriage has taken place
between them. Thus on its peripheries the band was extremely unstable and
possessed few mechanisms for cementing relationships with other bands. Be-
tween such units only more distant blood and affinal kinship ties operated, and
here the emotional factor needed to reinforce kinship ties in a society where
interpersonal relations are not strictly formalized was even more minimal.
Covert interpersonal hostility was congruent to and almost inevitable in such
a social structure wherein the individual literally felt he could depend on
nobody but himself and in which mistrust rapidly mounted beyond the nuclear
family. Obviously, therefore, relatives and neighbors often failed to inspire
confidence or security and numerous possibilities for suspicion of malevolence
were available. In the absence of any organized chieftainship such antagonisms
were primarily subject to individual control in accordance with the ideals of
the society.

754 This analysis has not yet directly explained one important feature of Kaska
166 witch-fear. Why was suspicion of witchcraft so often directed against children?
858 In part the answer may lie in the fact that adults often circumvented accusa-
tions by placing the blame for alleged bewitchment on defenseless children. A
psychological explanation underlying such behavior can be found in the fact
that the Kaska's timidity in interpersonal relations and the correlated def-
erence patterning manifest adult relations made it undesirable to arouse direct
hostility.[illegible] Children, therefore, were safer targets for accusations. Finally we
must look to the society's attitudes toward children. The inhibition of demon-
strative affection to children has already been pointed out and would seem to
[842] point to ambivalence as regards children. An interpretation of conflicting at-
titudes toward offspring is strengthened by the evidence that some women do
not want children and this is related to expressions of masculine striving in
some female members of the contemporary society. There are more socially
patterned techniques for inducing sterility and contraception than there are
means of promoting fecundity. It becomes conceivable, therefore, that a
woman who was emotionally withdrawn and unconsciously ambivalent in her
attitude toward children could assist in the torture of her own or a relative's
child. Emotional rejection, it must be pointed out, is not correlated with
conscious hostility toward children and of course not all parents demonstrated
hostility to children. Many greatly feared the hysterical outbreaks of witch-
fear and witch-hunting and sought to protect their families by removing them
from the area.

[illegible] Kluckhohn has found fear of witchcraft among the Navaho to be associated with only a slight incidence of overt interpersonal aggression. (Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 53.)